

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3218

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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TAGS: PFOR, PINT, JA, CH

SUBJECT: JAPANESE FONOFF VIEWS ON PROMOTION OF HUA AND PURGE OF
SHANGHAI FOUR

SUMMARY: LEADING FONOFF CHINA ANALYST BELIEVES
PROMOTION OF HUA AND PURGE OF SHANGHAI FOUR REPRESENTS
LATER STAGE RATHER THAN BEGINNING OF POST-MAO POWER
STRUGGLE. WHILE HUA'S SUPPORT AMONG MILITARY
BUREAUCRACY, AND EVEN POPULISTS APPEARS FIRM, HE WILL
HAVE NEW BALANCING ACT TO PERFORM--THIS TIME BETWEEN
MILITARY AND CIVILIANS RATHER THAN LEFT AND RIGHT.

LEADERSHIP CHANGES HAVE HAD IMMEDIATE RELAXING
EFFECT ON CHINESE WHO DEAL WITH JAPAN BOTH IN TOKYO
AND PEKING. CONCRETE CHANGES IN PRC POLICY HAVE YET
TO EMERGE, BUT SINO-JAPANESE TRADE LIKELY TO EXPAND.
STAGE SET FOR NEW INITIATIVES ON PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
TREATY ONCE JAPANESE DOMESTIC POLITICS STABILIZE
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AFTER ELECTIONS. THERE APPEARS SOME ROOM FOR

IMPROVEMENT OF ATMOSPHERE OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS,
BUT NO BASIC SHIFT OF LINE. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING CONVERSATIONS WITH EMBOFF AND VISITING
ROC DESK DEPDIR BROWN, CHINA DIVISION DIRECTOR
FUJITA PASSED ALONG HIS TENTATIVE ANALYTICAL
JUDGMENTS ON SITUATION IN PRC AS FOLLOWS.

2. PROMOTION OF JUA KUO FENG AND PURGE OF SHANGHAI
FOUR REPRESENTED, FUJITA FELT, LATE STAGE
RATHER THAN BEGINNING OF POST-MAO POWER STRUGGLE.
PROCESS HAD TAKEN WEEKS INSTEAD OF YEARS BUT
RESULTS WERE ABOUT AS EXPECTED. JUDGING FROM
FORMAT AND ATMOSPHERICS OF OCT 24 RALLY AND FROM
ALL REPORTS DESCRIBING RECENT EVENTS IN PEKING,
HUA HAD FIRM SUPPORT OF MAJORITY OF PLA, PUBLIC
SECURITY APPARATUS, BUREAUCRACY, MILITIA AND
CHINESE PUBLIC. DIFFICULT TO TELL WHETHER CHINESE
WERE GENUINELY FOR HUA OR SIMPLY APPROVED OF WHAT
HE DID TO MADAM MAO ET AL.

3. PROMINENT ROLES PLAYED AT RALLY BY CIVILIAN
LEADERS LIKE WE TE AND NI CHUH-FU ALSO SUGGESTED
THAT HUA AND OTHER LEADERS ANXIOUS TO GIVE IMPRESSION
OF CIVILIAN CONTROL AND AVOID APPEARANCE OF MILITARY
TAKEOVER. ONCE THE BALANCE WHEEL BETWEEN LEFT AND
RIGHT, HUE WOULD NOW PERFORM SAME FUNCTION BETWEEN
MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ELEMENTS IN RECENT BODY POLITIC.
PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN THE TWO WOULD NOT BE EASY
TO FIND DUE TO SCARCITY OF PRESTIGIOUS AND COMPETENT
CIVILIANS WHO OWED THEIR RISE TO CULTURAL REVOLUTION
BUT WERE NOT LINKED TO LEFT. ON CONTRARY, THERE WERE
PLENTY OF MILITARY MEN WHO HAD TASTED POLITICAL
POWER DURING LOW-AND-ORDER STAGES OF CULTURAL
REVOLUTION, LIKED IT, AND WANTED MORE.
VACANCIES IN SENIOR ECHELONS ON DOWN LINE REPRESENTED
COMPLICATED PROBLEMS WHICH WOULD TAKE TIME. HUA
HAD SOME TIME, FUJITA CONTINUED, AND WOULD
CONCENTRATE HIS ATTENTION ON CONSOLIDATING POWER
OVER NEXT 6 TO 12 MONTHS.
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4. ATMOSPHERIC CHANGES.

CHANGES IN CHINA'S LEADERSHIP HAD HAD IMMEDIATE
EFFECT ON ATMOSPHERE OF DEALINGS BETWEEN CHINESE
AND JAPANESE FUJITA WENT ON. CHINESE EMBASSY
OFFICIALS IN TOKYO, PREOCCUPIED AND JITTERY SINCE
MAO'S DEATH HAD RELAXED NOTICEABLY, SHOWED MORE

FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE TOWARD SOLUTION OF DAY-TO-DAY PROBLEMS, AND TURNED AMENDABLE TO ACCEPTING SOCIAL INVITATIONS AT WHICH SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGES POSSIBLE. (FUJITA HAD EVENING ENGAGEMENTS WITH CHINESE SCHEDULED FOR BOTH OCT 26 AND 27.) SAME PHENOMENON HAD OCCURRED IN PEKING, WHERE DIPLOMATS AND NEWSMEN REPORTED HAVING HAD AFTER MASSIVE RALLY ON OCT 24 MOST CANDID AND EASY EXCHANGES THEY COULD REMEMBER WITH OFFICIALS OF FOREIGN MINISTRY AND SINO-JAPANESE FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION. DURING CONVERSATION, CHINESE REHEARSED REASONS FOR PURGE IN NOW STANDARD FASHION. WHEN JAPANESE CORRESPONDENTS ASKED WHY CHAIRMAN MAO HAD DONE NOTHING ABOUT CHIANG CHING, CHINESE ANSWERED THAT HER FIRM GRIP ON PROPAGANDA APPARATUS MADE THIS DIFFICULT. THEY TOLD JAPANESE THAT THEY HAD ENJOYED BIG RALLIES IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE MORE THAN ANY THEY COULD REMEMBER AND LOOKED FORWARD TO MORE.

5. POLICY IMPLICATIONS--TRADE.

WHILE TOO EARLY FOR SPECIFIC POLICY SHIFTS TO EMERGE, FUJITA GUESSED THAT FIRST CONCRETE EVIDENCE MIGHT TAKE FORM OF EXPANDED TRADE. HE UNDERSTOOD FROM GERMANS IN PEKING THAT FIFTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN CURRENTLY UNDER REVISION. REPORTS FROM PEKING (WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED FROM OTHER SOURCES) QUOTED HIGH-LEVEL ECONOMIC OFFICIALS TELLING VISITING JAPANESE THAT DISAPPOINTING CURRENT LEVELS OF TRADE DUE IN PART TO "DISTURBING FORCES OF ERRONEOUS LINE." FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER LI CHIANG ALSO TOLD VISITORS THAT, "SITUATION NOW 'FAVORABLE' FOR DEVELOPMENT OF FOREIGN TRADE." FROM CANTON, FUJITA HAD REPORT THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRADE WITH JAPANESE CURRENTLY CONFIDENTIAL

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IN HANDS OF WU SHU-TUNG. LAST TIME WU MANAGED JAPANESE TRADE AT FAIR WAS 1971, JUST BEFORE NORMALIZATION (AND QUANTUM JUMP IN TRADE LEVELS). ALTHOUGH JAPANESE TRADERS REPORTED THAT ORDER LEVELS REMAINED LOW, WU'S PRESENCE WAS READ AS SYMBOL OF FATTER TIMES TO COME.

6. PEACE AND FIRENDSHIP TREATY.

ONCE REGIME FIRMLY ESTABLISHED IN PRC AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE IN JAPAN HAD STABILIZED, JAPAN WOULD BE HAPPY TO MAKE SOME INITIATIVES TO SOLVE HEGEMONY IMPASSE BLOCKING NEGOTIATION OF PEACE-AND-FRIENDSHIP TREATY, FUJITA CONTINUED. PROCESS UNLIKELY TO BEGIN UNTIL AFTER ELECTIONS AND UNTIL

CHINESE CLEAR ABOUT IDENTITY OF JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER WITH WHOM THEY WOULD BE DEALING. FUJITA FELT CHINESE WOULD DEAL WITH MIKI IF THEY WERE CONFIDENT HE COULD LAST IN POWER. CHINESE WOULD ALSO DEAL WITH FUKUDA WERE HE TO BE NEXT PRIME MINISTER. DURING RECENT VISIT, FORMER FONMIN FUJIYAMA, A GOOD FRIEND OF CHINESE, HAD SPENT CONSIDERABLE TIME RECOMMENDING FUKUDA TO CHINESE.

7. SINO-SOVIET.

NEW GOVERNMENT NOT IN POSITION TO CHANGE BASIC LINE, FUJITA FELT, HE DOUBTED HOWEVER THAT PRC WOULD TAKE STRONGER ACTION AGAINST SOVIETS. ON CONTRARY, MORE REASONABLE ATTITUDE TOWARDS SOVS AND IMPROVEMENT IN ATMOSPHERE OF RELATIONSHIP MIGHT EMERGE. PRC ROOM FOR MANEUVER WOULD BE LIMITED, HOWEVER, BY CONCERN OVER RAISING SUSPICIONS OF UNITED STATES, FUJITA CONCLUDED.
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